

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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AMEMBASSY JIDDA

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR US JO XF

SUBJECT: VISIT TO WASHINGTON OF KING HUSSEIN

REF: STATE 95780

1. SUMMARY. ATHERTON BRIEFED DINITZ ON HUSSEIN VISIT
ALONG LINES REFTTEL. HE CONFIRMED THAT KING HAD IN MIND,
WHEN CALLING FOR ADEQUATE GENEVA PREPARATIONS, NOT ONLY
PARTICIPATION ISSUE BUT SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS THEMSELVES.
HE ASSESSED HUSSEIN'S INCREASED OPTIMISM BY END OF VISIT
AS RESULTING FROM U.S. ASSURANCES ABOUT CONTINUING
IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO OUR RELATIONS WITH JORDAN. DINITZ
ASKED IF KING TALKED ABOUT DEMILITARIZATION OF WHOLE WEST

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BANK, AND ATHERTON EXPLAINED DISCUSSION OF SECURITY
ARRANGEMENTS WAS NOT THAT SPECIFIC. DINITZ ASKED IF
HUSSEIN ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION DISCUSSED OTHER
POSSIBILITIES BESIDES UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION. ATHERTON
SAID KING HAD NOT RULED OUT INCLUSION OF PALESTINIANS IN
JORDANIAN DELEGATION. DINITZ ASKED WHETHER ATHERTON
THOUGHT KING WOULD GO TO GENEVA WITH ONLY WEST AND EAST

BANKERS IN HIS DELEGATION IF SYRIA AND SAUDI ARABIA URGED THIS. ATHERTON QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE UNLESS ALSO AGREED TO BY SADAT WHO, ALONG WITH SYRIA, TAKES POSITION PLO MUST BE INVITED. END SUMMARY.

2. ATHERTON MET APRIL 28 WITH AMBASSADOR DINITZ TO BRIEF HIM ON HUSSEIN VISIT. ATHERTON SAID DISCUSSIONS WITH KING COVERED WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING WITH EACH LEADER CALLING ON THE PRESIDENT. BULK OF DISCUSSIONS DEALT WITH MIDDLE EAST PEACE QUESTIONS, WITH LESS ATTENTION GIVEN TO AREA DEVELOPMENTS AND BILATERAL MATTERS. KING STRESSED HIS VIEW IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT U.S. PLAY ACTIVE ROLE. THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO DOING SO AND TO MIDDLE EAST PEACE. PRESIDENT ALSO STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH JORDAN, WHICH WAS IMPORTANT THIS VISIT BECAUSE KING HAD BEEN A LITTLE CONCERNED.

3. ATHERTON CONTINUED THE PRESIDENT AND KING AGREED GENEVA CONFERENCE FAILURE WOULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES, AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO PREPARE GROUND WITH CARE SO AS TO GO TO GENEVA WITH REASONABLE CONFIDENCE IN REAL PROGRESS ONCE THERE. DINITZ ASKED WHETHER KING IN CALLING FOR ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS HAD IN MIND NOT ONLY OVERCOMING QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION BUT ALSO SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES THEMSELVES, AND ATHERTON CONFIRMED THIS. ATHERTON SAID THE PRESIDENT TOLD KING AS HE HAD TOLD EACH VISITOR THAT AFTER THIS ROUND OF TALKS WITH AREA LEADERS ENDING WITH FAHD VISIT, HE WAS THINKING OF SENDING THE SECRETARY BACK
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TO AREA. IF IT APPEARED THEN THAT POSSIBILITIES EXISTED FOR PROGRESS AT GENEVA, U.S. WOULD BE VERY ACTIVE. KING REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING IN ADVANCE WHERE GENEVA WOULD BE GOING. KING AGREED EFFORT TO RECONVENE GENEVA WAS IMPORTANT THIS YEAR.

4. ATHERTON SAID KING AT END OF VISIT WAS ENCOURAGED. DINITZ ASKED WHY. ATHERTON REPLIED THAT KING'S CONCERNS ABOUT HIS U.S. RELATIONSHIP WERE ALLAYED. KING HAD NOT KNOWN THIS ADMINISTRATION. FOR EXAMPLE, PEOPLE IN JORDAN HAD SUGGESTED TO HIM THE PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR HOMELAND FOR PALESTINIANS MIGHT MEAN REPLACEMENT FOR JORDAN. ON HEARING THAT WE CONSIDER U.S.-JORDAN RELATIONSHIP AS IMPORTANT AS EVER AND THAT PRESIDENT REGARDS HIM AS IMPORTANT ACTOR IN SITUATION, KING'S MOOD IMPROVED.

5. ATHERTON SAID THE PRESIDENT MADE SPECIAL POINT ABOUT PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZATION AS PART OF PEACE SETTLEMENT AND DISCUSSED VARIOUS MANIFESTA-

TIONS--CONTACTS, TRADE, ETC. KING SHOWED CLEARLY HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE PART OF ANY SETTLEMENT. ATHERTON REMARKED KING HAD ALWAYS BEEN AHEAD OF OTHER ARAB LEADERS IN THIS RESPECT. DINITZ AGREED, WHILE NOTING THAT KING SOME MONTHS AGO BEGAN ALLOWING ISRAELI ARABS TO CROSS BRIDGE AND YET TWO DAYS AGO RESCINDED THIS. DINITZ ADDED THAT HUSSEIN'S ATTITUDE ON GENERAL SUBJECT OF OPEN BRIDGES HAD BEEN WELL ADVANCED OF OTHER ARABS.

6. ATHERTON EXPLAINED THAT ON TERRITORIAL QUESTION KING REAFFIRMED HIS VIEW THAT WEST BANK SHOULD BE RETURNED TO JORDAN WHILE LEAVING OPEN POSSIBILITY OF MINOR RECTIFICATIONS. HUSSEIN ALSO CALLED FOR RETURN OF EAST JERUSALEM, WITH ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSURE BOTH PARTS WOULD CONSTITUTE OPEN CITY WITH FREE MOVEMENT AND ACCESS. DISCUSSIONS ABOUT SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS SUCH AS DMZS HAD BEEN LIMITED.

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HUSSEIN SAID IF HE WERE SOVEREIGN IN WEST BANK, HE WOULD BE OPEN MINDED AND WILLING TO DISCUSS ANY ARRANGEMENTS. DINITZ ASKED IF KING TALKED ABOUT DEMILITARIZATION OF ENTIRE WEST BANK, AND ATHERTON EXPLAINED DISCUSSIONS DID NOT GET THAT SPECIFIC.

7. ATHERTON SAID EMPHASIS IN KING'S REMARKS ON PALESTINIAN QUESTION WAS ON SELF-DETERMINATION. HE FELT PALESTINIANS SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES AND SAID HE WOULD LIVE WITH RESULTS--WITH FEDERATION, SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE, OR RESTORATION OF PRE-1967 UNITY. HUSSEIN PERSONALLY BELIEVED THAT PALESTINIANS WOULD WANT LINK WITH JORDAN, AND HE EVIDENTLY WANTED THIS, TOO, NOTING HIS 1972 UNITED ARAB KINGDOM PROPOSAL. HE SAID SELF-DETERMINATION COULD BE CARRIED OUT UNDER SOME INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. DINITZ ASKED WHETHER KING WAS TALKING ONLY ABOUT RESIDENTS OF WEST BANK. ATHERTON SAID HE BELIEVED THIS WAS CASE BUT DOUBTED KING HAD THOUGHT THROUGH ALL RAMIFICATIONS OF THIS IDEA.

8. ATHERTON CONTINUED HUSSEIN WAS CURIOUS TO KNOW WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAD IN MIND ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. THE PRESIDENT EXPLAINED IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR U.S. TO ATTEMPT TO DEFINE NATURE OF PALESTINIAN HOMELAND AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO JORDAN WHICH SHOULD BE DEALT WITH AS PART OF NEGOTIATING PROCESS. ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION ISSUE, HUSSEIN INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER SERIES OF ARRANGEMENTS. HIS PREFERENCE CONTINUED TO BE SINGLE ARAB DELEGATION INCLUDING PLO, ALTHOUGH HE WAS UNSURE THIS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO PLO. DINITZ INTERJECTED, OR TO EGYPT. DINITZ ASKED IF KING DESCRIBED

OTHER POSSIBILITIES. ATHERTON SAID HUSSEIN DID NOT RULE OUT IDEA OF INCLUDING PALESTINIANS IN JORDAN DELEGATION.

9. ATHERTON SAID THAT AS TO STRUCTURE OF CONFERENCE, HUSSEIN LIKE SYRIANS PREFERRED FUNCTIONAL WORKING GROUPS.

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SOME OF THESE WOULD INVOLVE SINGLE ARAB DELEGATION, WHILE OTHERS WOULD WORK BETTER ON BILATERAL BASIS, KING THOUGHT. ATHERTON OPINED THAT HUSSEIN'S APPROACH TO BOTH REPRESENTATION AND STRUCTURE RESULTED FROM HIS DESIRE NOT TO BE ALONE. DINITZ SAID ONE COULD UNDERSTAND THIS DESIRE, BUT HE WONDERED IF HUSSEIN WAS NOT CONCERNED THAT IN THIS SITUATION TOO, OTHERS COULD MAKE COMPROMISES AT HIS EXPENSE. ATHERTON THOUGHT THAT JORDAN DURING SO MANY YEARS OF HUSSEIN'S LONG REIGN HAD BEEN ISOLATED IN ARAB WORLD, KING DID NOT WANT THIS TO HAPPEN AGAIN.

10. ATHERTON ASKED IF DINITZ HAD READ HUSSEIN'S TWO SPEECHES. DINITZ INDICATED THESE WERE GOOD SPEECHES FROM KING'S VIEW POINT BUT CONTAINED NOTHING NEW. ATHERTON NOTED KING HAD SPOKEN SEVERAL TIMES OF COEXISTENCE. DINITZ SAID ISRAELI JOURNALISTS HAD BEEN BARRED FROM HUSSEIN'S PRESS CONFERENCE, TO WHICH ATHERTON EXPRESSED SURPRISE, RECALLING SADAT'S PRESS CONFERENCE HAD INCLUDED ISRAELI JOURNALISTS.

11. DINITZ ASKED ATHERTON IF HE THOUGHT HUSSEIN COULD COMPLY IF SYRIA AND SAUDI ARABIA TOLD HIM TO GO TO GENEVA WITH WEST BANK AND EAST BANK PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES IN HIS DELEGATION. DINITZ SAID HE POSED THIS QUESTION BECAUSE OF SLACKENED SYRIAN AND SAUDI COMMITMENT TO PLO SINCE LEBANESE CRISIS IN CONTRAST TO EGYPT. ATHERTON REPLIED HE THOUGHT IT DOUBTFUL THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE AT THIS STAGE WITHOUT SADAT'S AGREEMENT. BUT IF ARABS LATER COULD NOT REACH AGREEMENT ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION ISSUE, THINGS MIGHT BE DIFFERENT. DINITZ ASKED WHETHER HUSSEIN IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS REVEALED SOME FEAR OF PLO STATE ON WEST BANK AS THREAT TO HIMSELF. ATHERTON REPLIED KING MADE CLEAR IN PRIVATE HIS LACK OF TRUST OF PRESENT PLO LEADERSHIP BUT SHOWED CONFIDENCE THAT WEST BANKERS IF THEY COULD EXPRESS PREFERENCE WITHOUT INTIMIDATION WOULD NOT OPT FOR ARAFAT AND WOULD WANT LINK

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WITH JORDAN. DINITZ COMMENTED THAT HUSSEIN BY GIVING

PUBLIC LIP SERVICE TO PLO CREATED IMPRESSION HE COULD
LIVE WITH PLO. THIS IN TURN WEAKENED RESOLVE OF
INDIVIDUALS WHO BELIEVED ONLY REALISTIC SOLUTION WAS LINK
WITH JORDAN. ATHERTON NOTED THAT KING HAD THOUGHT ABOUT
THIS AND WAS SEEKING QUIETLY TO SHIFT EMPHASIS FROM PLO
TO PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH WOULD REVEAL
WHO REALLY SHOULD REPRESENT THE PALESTINIANS. HUSSEIN
COULD NOT AFFORD TO APPEAR TO BE BREAKING WITH RABAT
SUMMIT DECISIONS IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS. DINITZ VOICED
CONCERN THAT EVEN IF PLEBISCITE RESULTED IN INDEPENDENT
NON-PLO WEST BANK STATE, PLO COULD TAKE SUCH STATE OVER
UNLESS IT WAS LINKED WITH JORDAN FROM BEGINNING. DINIT,

BELIEVED HUSSEIN SHOULD BE CONCERNED ABOUT SUCH
EVENTUALITY. ATHERTON SAID DISCUSSIONS WITH KING DID NOT
GET INTO SUCH SUBJECTS.

CHRISTOPHER

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